THE WAR FOR THE UNION.

FROM FORTHESS MONEOE.

What Preceded the Fight.

FORTRESS MONROB, Old Point, June 8, 1861. Three men escaped from Norfolk yesterday in a open boat, under the guise of fishermen, and reached re this morning. To avoid observation and escape the Rebel batteries, they rowed over 30 miles. Gen. Butler provided them with passage to New-York on board the Alabama. They confirm the statements in my last letter. Another Virginia military company in Norfolk has disbanded, on account of the disaffection that had arisen in their ranks. It was thought the feeling would extend to other companies. Mechanics and others employed by the Rebels are paid in shinplasters exclusively, which increases the discontent. An attempt will be made to construct a floating battery out of the wreck of the Merrimac. An attempt ha been made to raise the Plymouth, but as yet she had been raised only one foot, and the attempt will be abandoned. The Rebels are very well posted with reference to our movements.

On Thursday, a rumor prevailed that a considerable force had left Richmond to form a junction with the forces at Yorktown, for the purpose of making a demonstration on Newport News.

The General Court-Martial has finished the cases of three soldiers belonging to Col. Carr's regiment, and on Patrick Thornton and Douald D. Cameron, each of Company D, 2d Regiment New-York Volunteers,

Passed the following sentence:

"To be drummed out of the Regiment, and through the entire Brigade, stripped of his uniform, with a rope about his neck, and a placard with the word." There' on his back. Further, that he forfeit all pay and all pay and allowance now due him, or to become due him, at the time of the promulacition of his sontence, and to be dishoucrably discharged from the service of the United States."

This sentence was passed on each of the accused, and will probably be carried into effect to-morrow.

The following is Gen. Butler's approval of the pro

The lollowing is Gen. Butter a approval of the proceedings and sentence:

"The proceedings, findings, and sentence of Denild D. Cemeron, private in Company D. Zellesiment, N. Y. Volnnieers, are approved, and ordered to be carried into effect before the General Court Martial is dissolved. The sentence is seamply mitigated by the Court for the very heimons and agravated effects of which the accused has been found guilty, that the Commanding General will not abite any part of it.

"BENJ. F. EUTLER, Najor-General Commanding."

Lawrence Merriman, of Company D, 2d Regiment

Lawrence Merriman, of Company D, an regiment of N. Y. Volunteers, was sentenced as follows:

"To three days hard labor, with the ball and chain attached to the right les—the ball to weigh tweive pounds."

In approving this sentence, Gen. Butler says:

"The proceedings and sentence in the case of Lawrence Merriman, Company D, 2d Regiment New York Volunteers, are hereby approved, and are to be carried into effect before the General Court Martial is dissolved. While the severe and disgracing punishment awarded may at first thought seem too severe, for being a 'mile away from comp without written permission,' it will be seen by the wridence that he was so absent, aiding and aborting a band of plundeers. betting a band of plunderers. "BENL F. BUTLER, Maj. Gen. Commanding."

This will do very well as a commencement. Other cases are undergoing trial, and it is probably plain now that offenders are to be rigorously dealt with. Gen. Butler has earned and will receive the thanks of all right-minded persons for the course he has pursued.

For the last week or ten days the morning boat from Baltimore has brought down every trip a number of persons, some of whom scattered themselves through the camp, thus giving the Rebels access to all that was going on here. Gen. Botler has put a sudden check on this by requiring every person who has not already done so, to take the oath of allegiance before coming schore. This morning it was done for the first time. Eight or ten took the oath, two refused, and conse quently remained on board.

Yesterday, the regular officers of the fortress renewed their allegiance under the order of the Department, issued some time since. A more rigid rule wil bereafter be observed with reference to strangers and persons not connected with the army. With this view, Lieut. Morgan has been appointed Provost Marshal.

Our camp at Newport News for the last few days has been somewhat excited by rumors that a body of rebels were hovering in the neighborhood, and that a large body of troops were concentrating at Yorktown, from whom an early attack might be expected. Our forces only hope that an opportunity will be afforded them for meeting the enemy; and if they don't come to us, we shall not wait much longer before going to them by the most direct and shortest route. Our men have for two weeks bathed in the waters and eaten the oysters and fish of the James River, and have a strong lesire to try those of York River. Besides, to Yorktown our men think they have a traditional title, and only want the opportunity to add a new glory to its history. So let Col. Magnuder look out. Onward is word, and stranger things have happened than that Gen. Butler should be the first to replant the Stars and Stripes in Richmond. The waters of the highway. To Norfolk, by way of Sewall's Point, is but six miles. The material augmentation of Gen. Butler's force within the last few days shortens the time when he can give the word, "Ready!" "Onward!"

We begin to obtain dissolving views of the Naval Brigade. To-day the men are undergoing the process of muster and preliminary examination. They muster upward of six hundred; how many will bear inspection remains to be seen. There is a wonderful aggregation of muscle, in a condition the most unpresentable imaginable. The officers will not be chosen before tomorrow or next day.

Col. McChesney's regiment reached the Roads yesterday, and Col. Hawkins's regiment came in this rning. If more are coming, let them do so at once, if they would participate in the grand forward move-

Private McCarty, in the Massachusetts 4th, who was accidentally shot by a comrade, was buried at Newport News yesterday, with impressive ceremonies. This is the first violent death that has occurred here.

The sanitary condition of the Fortress and Camp continues to be good, the hospital list growing less instead

A new batch of negroes came in yesterday, and to-day the grand total has been somewhat enfurged.

A few days since, a company left their homes in the neighborhood of Back River, embarked in row-boats. with a quantity of furniture, bedding, and a dressed bog, and came down the Chesapeake to Old Point, and led in safety. You should have seen them as they marched into the Fortress. "De Lord is in it," said s venerable old Joe. "I knowd he'd do it!" and his face shope with thankfulness as he led the troop into the strong place of refuge.

Immense quantities of stores and ammenition con-tinue to arrive here, and every department is worked up to its full capacity. Among the recent arrivals, I notice a number of surf-bouts, of large size, which have a meaning-probably Sewall's Point. Men will be drilled to man them. The Anacostia paid us a flying visit yesterday, bringing a bearer of dispatches to Gen. Butler. The squad of the 71st Regiment were a guard

> FORTRESS MONROE, Old Point Comfort, ? June 9, 1861.

Yesterday morning a squad of Col. Carr's men wen over to Hampton to bake bread. Hearing that a company of rebel cavalry were in the immediate vicinity, they went in pursuit. Hearing of the circumstance, Col. Carr, by the direction of Gen. Pierce, dispatched two companies to support the movement. As usual, the troopers retired. The pursuing party advanced about two miles, when the advance guard came up with a party of cavalry and a force variously estimated from 250 to 1,000, with two pieces of artillery. Shots were exchanged, without any loss on our side. Information was sent back, when the remainder of Col. Carr's regiment were sent forward. Gen. Pierce and staff, with some of Gen. Butler's staff, followed the pursuing force. The pursuit was continued considera-bly beyond where the rebels were represented as having been. Gen. Pierce pushed on a considerable distance in advance of the main body. The search for she rebels proving fruitless, the expedition returned at

evening. During the day, one of Col. Carr's men, whose name I have not learned, received a painful wound in the hand by the accidental discharge of his gan. Statements concerning the force of the rebels and the exchange of shots are conflicting. There is no doubt, however, that the rebels were in considerable force, and were probably the same bands that have before been seen by our pickets and scouting parties. The alacrity shown by Col. Carr's men in taking up the pursuit spoke well for their zeal and courage. party came upon a house which had been so suddenly abundoned by the rebels that glasses of whicky with which they were regaling themselves were left un-quaffed. This circumstance is regarded as proof positive of the precipitancy of their flight. The party also left behind a cavalry cap, lettered H. M. A., which our men brought away. It is needless to say that they left the fluid untouched!

Col. McChesney's regiment is encamped at the right of Col. Carr's, and will in a day or two be fally settled in their tents.

Col. Duryee's Zounves drilled five hours yesterday and toward evening three companies were exercised in the presence of Gen. Butler, with boats, in which species of drill they manifested commendable pro-

By an order of the Commanding General, Camp Butler will hereafter be known as Camp Hamilton. That at Newport News will take the designation of Camp Butles. Col. Hawkins's regiment has been encamped there.

I was in error yesterday in stating that Lieut. Morgun had been appointed Provost of the Fortress. Lieut. Small has been designated to that important position, and Lieut, M. Gills to the station of Quartermaster of the post. Lieut. Col. Warren has been designated by Gen. Butler to perform the duties of Provost at Camp Hamilton. These are excellent selections.

Mr. Alanson Crane of Massachusetts has been appointed Postmaster of the post, in the place of John B. Maher, removed. Mr. M. has held the office twelve years. For the first five years he donated half of the salary, and the remainder of his term, \$80 annually, to the support of the widow of a deceased brother officer, with whom he served in Southern Indian wars. He is an old soldier, and in one capacity or other bas been connected with the post since 1832. Quartermaster Tallmadge's assistant. Mr. Crane is abundantly qualified for the post, and will no doubt make a good officer. He has heretofore administered the Department of "Articles Contraband of War,"

I perceive that a letter written from Newport News to The Herald complains of the treatment which the volunteers receive. I have mingled not a little with the volunteers, and I am constrained to say that, while the life of a soldier is not a parlor life, nor the easiest in the world, the complaints in question are unjust, especially so far as they reflect on the commanding General. No officer was ever more solicitous for his men than Gen. Butler. If he has a partiality for any, it is for the Massachusetts men, who are his own fellow citizens. Shortcomings and errors doubtless have existed, and to some extent may now exist; but considering the circumstances under which the volunteers were brought into the field, the only wonder is that their situation has not been one of greate: hardship. I venture to say that the true ground of complaint, if there is any, may be found within the regiments themselves. The commanding General should not be expected to be Quartermaster and Commissory for everybody. Generally the new regiments are lamentably deficient in this respect.

The State of Georgia sailed at noon to-day for New-York, taking 72 men, who came here as a part of the Naval Brigade. Under the energetic efforts of Col. Wardrop, the remaining men are rapidly getting into shape, and will be organized in a few days hence. Col. Bartlett and the other officers of the late Brignde are yet here. Some, if not all of them, expect to held positions under the new organization. It is questionable whether all of them are gratified.

FROM MARYLAND. Secession in Baltimore.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.
BALTIMORE, June 11, 1861. Allow me to give you a little information that I have gleaned during the last two days.

There is a decided purpose on the part of the Rebels here to create a disturbance on election day. They have been holding secret meetings, and a riot was in contemplation. Yesterday, there were boys offering for sale Secession flags, printed on cards—the same as were sold the day before bloody Friday. To-day, Jas. S. Waters, bookseller on Baltimore street, bas a medallion of Jeff. Davis for sale; copies \$1 50. He has also in dasen of Virginia. A boy has just come into my place fathere, or allow it to be stricken down by those who, business offering for sale the "Song of the Southern when they can no longer govern, threaten to destroy. Rights." This all goes to show how Secersion is working its way back again; the snake is not killed, but

only scotched. I must tell you also about The Sun newspaper corner. Here it is that the last fragment of the Rebels daily congregate, and, when a United States soldier passes, remarks are indulged in of the most offensive baracter; such as "You will make good manure for the soil of Virginia." The police take no notice of this, but laugh after the soldier has passed.

I have a letter in my possession from a soldier at Harper's Ferry. He says, "If Abe will let us alone for a few weeks, Harper's Ferry will be deserted; the musketoes are eating us up, and all night a fog rests over the town. If you take a broom, you can sweep it away like smoke. It is very cickly. Fresh provisions are furnished us every day, and gun caps are

THE SEIZURE BY THE THIRTEENTH NEW-

THE SEIZURE BY THE THIRTEENTH NEW-YORK REGIMENT.

Correspondence of the Baltimore American.

Talbot County, Md., June 10, 1861.

Yesterday afternoon Col. Smith, with four hundred of the 13th Regiment of New-York, stationed at Annapolis, landed at Milos River Ferry, and leaving there about one hundred and fifty men, with the remainder marched up to Easton and demanded the delivery of all arms in the Easton Armory. This demand was made in the name of the United States, but I have understood that Gov. Hicks also had authorized it. The stood that Gov. Hicks also had authorized it. The arms, &c., were delivered up, but under the protest of the officer in charge. Six or eight small cannon, about one thousand old muskets, and a quentity of powder and ball, were the result of the retzure. Our citizens are opposed to this action, but only a few denorance it as an invasion of our rights. The worthless characteristics are all need to very town or a second beautiful and in the contraction.

as an invasion of our rights. The worthless characters whom one will meet in any town are now heaping curses on the "Northern bloodhouds," and our lawyers and politicians, in order to "make hay while the sun shines," are exciting the people to resist our Government, and denounce the war as an unboly cursade against the praceful citizens of the South.

Col. Smith made two arrests. Mr. Thomas Halliday, an excitable gentleman, lavishly abused the Colonel and his men. He was arrested, but soon released at the request of Gen. Thomas. The other arrest was that of a lad who could not master his Southern sympathies. He also was released and advised to go to bed. One of the Lieutenants teld me that they fully expected to be resisted. No opposition was made,

bed. One of the Lieutenants to a first thay they have expected to be resisted. No opposition was made, however, and soon after their arrival both the officers and men freely conversed with the people.

A receipt for all arms removed is to be given to Gen. Thomas. The men were in Easton only three hours. They returned to the "Ferry," and went to St. Michael's to cheer up the spirits of the Union men.

CAPT. WILSON OF THE MINNIE SCHIFFER .- It is stated that Capt. Wilson, late of the brig Minnie Schiffer, has recently gone into the privateering business under the ensign of the "Southern Confederacy." The elegant service of plate prepared by merchants of New-York and Boston, as evidence of their appreciation of his gallant conduct in rescuing the passengers of the Connaught, still awaits Capt. Wilson's orders at Tiffany's, in Broadway, where it was manufactured.

THE PRIZE COMMISSIONERS .- No new cases have been reported to the Prize Commissioners in this city, within the past few days. The Commissioners have been kept busy taking evidence in preparatorio in the cases already reported, and have placed the testimony so taken in the United States District Court Clerk's

LAST WORDS OF SENATOR DOUG-

LAS FOR THE UNION. Senator Douglas and wife renched Chicago their return from Washington on the evening of the 1st day of May, and were met at the depot by an immease assemblage of citizens of all parties, who insisted on escorting Mr. Dougkas in procession to the great Wigwam, which was already packed with ten thousand persons. Room baying been made for the admission of Mr. Douglas, he was addressed by Thomas B. BRYAN in behalf of Chicago as follows:

SENATOR DOUGLAS: Chicago turns, from parting with her brave volunteers, to extend her right hand to you in cordial welcome.

Their departure and your arrival are alike invested with peculiar interest, for both you and they enjoy the proud consciousness of fidelity to that flag, which, though new assailed by impious hands, ever has been and, with the bleesing of God, ever thall be, the sym bol of our Nation's glory.

Sir, when last you were welcome to Chicago, it was by the hearty applause of party friends, anxious for your elevation to the highest office in the gift of the American people; now this vast assembly convened, irrespective of party, in the very ball erected by your political opponents, does homage to your patriotism.

This (then a Republican Wigwam, now baptized anew as) "National Hall," greets you with the plandits of ten thousand loyal spirits.

In the momentous issues of the present, the political strifes of the past sink into utter insignificance. Then the nation was at peace, and citizens turned aside from their daily avocations only to rally under the standard of this or that party candidate. Now we are startled by the beat of the drum, and by the bugle's martial notes. The North unites as with one pulse, with one arm in the rally. THAT RALLY IS TO THE BATTLE-FIELD; THE WATCHWORD IS, "OUR COUNTRY." The more vigorous the prosecution of the war, the speedier will be the restoration of peace. The North, Sir, did not inaugurate hostilities; neither is this a war of sections, wherein men are at liberty, according to their nativity and residence, to exercise their option in choice of friends and foes. It is the struggle of patriets to uphold the majesty of the law, and maintain the integrity of that Government, which of all others on the face of the earth is the noblest, the proudest citadel of human liberty. When rebels essay to undermine it, no patriot can falter between allegiance to his country and fellowship with these who would implant the en venomed fangs of treason in her very vitals.

In such a crisis as this, the people hold to strict ac-count their public servants, whether in council or in camp. Hence execrated is Mason of Virginia; honored is Douglas of Illinois.

Davis basks for awhile in the sunshine of rebel favor, only to sink the deeper in eternal infamy. Scott, in all the wealth of an approving conscience-right in the sight of God and man-adds new luster to his eventful life, and ere long he will be classed with Washington by the glad acclaim of exulting millions.

Sir, it is because of your promptitude and gallant efforts to sustain the Government, casting off the partisan for the freedom of the patriot, that Chicago receives you this night with open arms, and charges me in her name, and in her behalf, to bid you WELCOME; When the cheering had in some measure subsided, Mr. Douglas spoke as follows:

MR. DOUGLAS'S SPEECH.

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I thank you for the kind terms which you have been pleased to welcome me. I thank the Committee and citizens of Chicago for this grand and imposing reception. I beg you to believe that I will not do you nor myself the injustice to believe this magnificent evation is personal homage to myself. I rejoice to know that it expresses your devotion to the Constitution, the Union, and the flag of our country. [Cheers.]

I will not conceal gratification at the uncontrovert ble test this vast audience presents—that what political differences or party questions may have divided us, yet you all had a conviction that when the country should be in danger, my loyalty could be relied on. That the present danger is imminent, no man can conceal. If war must come-if the bayonet must be used to maintain the Constitution-I can say before God my con science is clean. I have struggled long for a peacefu solution of the difficulty. I have not only tendered those States what was theirs of right, but I have gone to the very extreme of magnanimity.

The return we receive is War, armies marched upon our Capital, obstructions and dangers to our navigation, letters of marque to invite pirates to prey upon our commerce, a concerted movement to blot out the United States of America from the map of the globe. bis window photographs of Beauregard, Davis, and The question is, are we to maintain the country of our

> What cause, what excuse do Disunionists give us for breaking up the best Government on which the sun of heaven ever shed its rays ! They are disantisfied with the result of a Presidential election. Did they never get beaten before? Are we to resort to the sword when we get defeated at the ballot-box. I understand it that the voice of the people expressed in the mode appointed by the Constitution must command the obedience of every citizen. They assume on the election of a particular candidate that their rights are not safe in the Union. What evidence do they present of this. I defy any man to show any act on which is based. What act has been omitted to be done ! appeal to these assembled thousands that so far as the constitutional rights of the Southern States, I will say the constitutional rights of slaveholders are concerned, nothing has been done, and nothing omitted of which they can complain.

> There has never been a time from the day that Washington was inaugurated first President of these United States, when the rights of the Southern States stood firmer under the laws of the land, than they do now; there never was a time when they had not a good a cause for Disunion as they have to-day. What good cause have they now that has not existed under every Administration.

> If they say the Territorial question-now, for the first time, there is no act of Congress prohibiting Slavery anywhere. If it be the non-enforcement of the laws, the only complaints that I have heard have been of the too vigorous and faithful fulfillment of the Fugitive Slave Law. Then what reason have they !

> The Slavery question is a mere excuse. The election of Lincoln is a mere pretext. The present Secession movement is the result of an enormous conspiracy formed more than a year since, formed by leaders in the

> South Confederacy more than twelve months ago.
>
> They use the Slavery question as a means to aid the accomplishment of their ends. They desired the eletion of a Northern candidate, by a sectional vote, in order to show that the two sections cannot live together When the history of the two years from the Lecompton charter down to the Presidential election shall be writ ten, it will be shown that the scheme was deliberately made to break up this Union.

> They desired a Northern Republican to be elected by a purely Northern vote, and then assign this fact as a reason why the sections may not longer live together. If the Disunion candidate in the late Presidential contest had carried the United South, their scheme was, the Northern candidate successful, to seize the Capitol last Spring, and by a United South and divided North hold it. That scheme was defeated in the defeat of the Disunion candidate in several of the Southern

> But this is no time for a detail of causes. The con spiracy is now knewn. Armies have been raised, war s levied to accomplish it. There are only two sides to the question. Every man must be for the United States or against it. There can be no neutrals in this

> war; only patriots—or traitors.
>
> Thank God, Illinois is not divided on this question [Cheers.] I know they expected to present a united South against a divided North. They hoped in the Northern States, party questions would bring civil war between Democrate and Republicans, when the South

would step in with her cohorts, aid one party to conquer the other, and then make easy prey of the victors.

Their scheme was carrage and civil war in the North. There is but one way to defeat this. In Illinois i is being so defeated by closing up the ranks. War will thus be prevented on our own soil. While there was a hope of peace I was ready for any reasonable sacrifice or compromise to maintain it. But when the ques tion comes of war in the cotton-fields of the South or the corn-fields of Illinois, I say the farther off the

We cannot close our eyes to the sad and solemn fact that war does exist. The Government must be maintailed, its enemies overthrown, and the more stuper dons our preparations the less the bloodshed, and the shorter the struggle. But we must remember certain restratuts on our action even in time of war. We are a Christian people, and the war must be prosecuted in a manner recognized by Christian nations.

We must not invade Constitutional rights. The innecent must not suffer, nor women and children be the victims. Savages must not be let loose. But while I sanction no war on the rights of others, I will implore my countrymen not to lay down their arms until our own rights are recognized. [Cheers.]

The Constitution and its guarantees are our birthright, and I am ready to enforce that inaliconable right to the last extent. We cannot recognize Secession. Recognize it once, and you have not only dissolved government, but you have destroyed social order, upturned the foundations of society. You have inaugurated anarchy in its worst form, and will shortly experience all the horrors of the French Revo

Then we have a solemn duty-to maintain the Government. The greater our unaximity the speedier the day of peace. We have prejudices to overcome from the few short months since of a fierce party contest. Yet these must be allayed. Let us lay aside all criminations and recriminations as to the origin of these difficulties. When we shall have again a country with the United States flag floating over it, and respected on every inch of American soil, it will then be time enough to ask who and what brought all this open us.

I have said more than I intended to say. [Cries of 'Go on."] It is a sad task to discuss questions so fearful as civil war, but sad as it is, bloody and disastrous as I expect it will be, I express it as my conviction before God, that it is the duty of every American citizen to rally round the flag of his country.

I thank you again for this magnificent demonstration. By it you show you have laid aside party strife. Illinois has a proud position. United, firm, determined never to permit the Government to be destroyed. [Prolonged cheering.]

At the close of his address, nine cheers were given to Mr. Donglas, who was escorted to his hotel by the

LETTER FROM THE HON, JOSEPH HOLT.

WASHINGTON, May 31, 1861.

J. F. SPEED, esq., Louisville, Ky.-My Dea Sir : The recent overwhelming vote in favor of the Union in Kentucky has afforded unspeakable gratification to all true men throughout the country. That vote indicates that the people of that gallant State have been neither seduced by the arts nor terrified by the menaces of the revolutionists in their midst, and that it is their fixed purpose to remain faithful to the Government which, for nearly seventy years, has remained faithful to them. Still it cannot be denied that there is in the bosom of that State a band of agitators, who, though few in number, are yet powerful from the public confidence they have enjoyed, and who have been, and doubtless will contime to be, unceasing in their endeavors to force Ken tucky to unite her fortunes with those of the Rebel Confederacy of the South. In view of this and of the well-known fact that reveral of the seceded States have by fraud and violence been driven to occupy their present false fatal position, I cannot, even with the encouragement of her late vote before me, look upon the political future of our native State without a painful olicitude. Never have the safety and honor of her people required the exercise of so much vigilance and of so much courage on their part. If true to themselves, the stars and stripes, which, like angels' wings, have so long guarded their homes from every oppression, will still be theirs; but if, chasing the dreams of men's ambition, they shall prove false, the blackness of darkness can but faintly predict the gloom that awnits them. The Legislature, it seems, has determined by resolution that the State, pending the present unhappy war, shall occupy neutral ground. I must say, in all frankness and without daring to reflect upon the course or sentiments of say, that, in this struggle for the existence of our Government, I can neither practice nor profess nor feel neutrality. I would as soon think of being neutral in a contest between an officer of justice and an incendiary arrested in an attempt to fire the dwelling over my head; for the Government, for the Government whose overthrow is sought is for me the shelter not only of home, kindred, and friends, but of every earthly blessing which I can hope to enjoy on this side of the grave. If, however, from a natural on this side of the grave. If, however, from a natural horror of fratricical strife, or from her intinate social and business relations with the South, Kentucky shall determine to maintain the matural attitude assumed for her by her Legislature, her position will still be an honorable ore, though falling far short of that full measure of loyalty which her history has so constantly illustrated. Her Executive, ignoring, as I am happy to believe, alike the popular and legislative sentiment of the State, has, by proclamation, forbidden the Government of the United States from marching troops across her territory. This is, in no sense, a neutral step, but one of aggressive hostility. The troops of the Federal Government have as clear a constitutional right to pass over the soil of Kentucky as they have to march along the streets of Washington; and could this march along the streets of Washington; and could this prohibition be effective, it would not only be a vio-lation of the fundamental law, but would, in all its lation of the fundamental law, but would, in all i tendencies, be directly in advancement of the revolu-tion, and might, in an emergency easily imagined, compromise the highest national interests. I was rejoiced that the Legislature so promptly refused to indorse this proclamation as expressive of the true policy of the State. But I turn away from even this to the ballot-box, and find an abounding consolution in the conviction it inspires, that the popular heart of Kentucky, in its devotion to the Union, is far in ad-vance anke of legislative resolve and of Executive proclamation.

But as it is well understood that the late popular But as it is well understood that the late popular demonstration has rather scotched than killed rebellion in Kentucky, I propose inquiring, as briefly as practicable, whether, in the recent action or present declared policy of the Administration, or in the history of the pending revolution, or in the objects it seeks to accomplish, or in the results which must follow from it, if successful, there can be discovered any reasons why that State should sever the ties that unito her with a Confederacy in whose councils and upon whose battlecan state should sever the ties that unite her with a Confederacy in whose councils and upon whose battle-fields she has won so much honor, and under whose protection she has enjoyed so much prosperity.

For more than a month after the inauguration of President Lincoln, the manifestations seemed unequivocal that his Administration would seek a peaceful solution of our unhappy political troubles, and would look to time and assentments to the Taken I Con-

that State should sever the ties that units her with a Confederacy in whose councils and upon whose battle-fields she has won so much honor, and under whose protection she has enjoyed so much prospenity.

For more than a month after the imaguration of President Lincoln, the namifestations are considered that the Administration would seek a peaceful solution of our anhappy political trothles, and would look to time and amendments to the Federal Constitution, adopted in accordance with its provisions, to bring back the revolted States to their allegiance. So marked was the effect of these manifestations in tranquilizing the Border States, and in reasoning their loyalty, that the conspirators who had set this revolution on foot took the alarm. While affecting to despise these States are not sefficiently intensified in their deviation to African servitude, they knew they could never succeed in their treasonable enterprise without their support. Hence it was resolved to precipitate a collision of arms with the Federal anthorities, in the hope that, under the panic and exasperation incident to the commencement of a civil war, the Border States, following the natural bent of their sympathies, would array thomselves against the Government. Fort Sunter, occurred. The roots of the revolution may be their favorite theory that blood was needed to cement the new Confederacy. Its provisions were exhansed for accomplishing their purpose, and for testing also their favorite theory that blood was needed to cement the new Confederacy. Its provisions were exhansed for accomplishing their purpose, and for testing also their favorite theory that blood was needed to cement the new Confederacy. Its provisions were exhansed for accomplishing their purpose, and for testing also their favorite theory that blood was needed to cement the new Confederacy. Its provisions were exhansed for the revolution of the fort had declared to them—that in two days a capitular for the favorite theory that blood was needed to cement the new Confederacy.

helplese garrison for hours without reply, and when, in the progress of the bombardment, the fortification became wrapped in flames, the besieging batteries, in violation of the usages of civilized wartare, instead of relaxing or suspending, redoubled their fires. A more wanton or wicked war was never commenced on any government whose history has been written. Cotemporary with and following the fall of Sumter, the siege of Fort Pickens was and still is actively pressed, the property of the United States Government continued to be seized wherever found, and its troops, by fraud or force, captured in the State of Texas in violafraud or force, captured in the State of Texas in violafraud or force, captured in the State of Texas in violation of a selemn compact with its authoraies that they should be permitted to embark without prolestation. This was the requital which the Lone Star State made to brave men who, through long years of perd and privation, had gnarded its frontiers against the incursions of the savages. In the midst of the most active and extended warlike preparations in the South, the amountement was made by the Secretary of War of the seceded States, and echoed with taunts and insolent brayadoes by the Southern press, that Washinglent bravadoes by the Southern press, that Washingtent bravadoes by the Southern press, that Washing-ton City was to be invared and captured, and that the flag of the Cenfederate States would soon float over the dome of its Capitol. Soon thereafter there fol-lowed an invitation to all the world-embracing ne-cessarily the outes to and desperadoes of every sca-to accept letters of marque and reprisal, to prey upon the rich and unprotected commerce of the United States.

States.

In view of these events and threatenings, what was the duty of the Chief Magistrate of the Republic! He might have taken counsel of the revolution is and trembled under their menaces; he might, upon the fall of Sumter, have directed that Fort Pickens should be a chief of the country of the countr Sunter, have directed that Fort Pickens rooms aurrendered without firing a gun in its defense, and processing yet further, and meeting fully the requirements of the "let-us-alone" policy insisted on in the South, he might have ordered that the stars and stripes should be had in the dust in the presence of every hit of rebel hanting that might appear. But he did none of rebel boating that might appear. But he did none of these things, nor could be have done them without forgetting his oath and betraying the most sublime st that has ever been confided to the hands of man the heroic fidelity to his constitutional obligations With a heroic idelity to his constitutional original reling justly that these obligations charged him with the protection of the Republic and its Capital against the assaults alike of foreign and domestic encances, by the white binaself on the loyalty of the country for support in the struggle upon which he was about to enter. and nobly has that appeal been responded to. State and notely has that appeal been responded to. States-containing an aggregate population of nineteen millions have answered to the appeal as with the voice of one man, offering soldiers without number, and treasure without limitation, for the service of the Government. In these States, 1,500,000 freemen cast their votes in favor of candidates supporting the rights of the South, at the last Presidential election, and yet everywhere, the incomplete making and year, the top of fall alike ie popular assemblies and upon the tenied field, this million and a balf of voters are found yielding to none in the zeal with which they rally to their cournone in the zeal with which they rally to their country's flag. They are not less the friends of the South than before; but they realize that the question now presented is not one of administrative polecy, or of the claims of the North, the South, the East, or the West; but is, simply, whether nineteen millions of people shall tamely and ignobly rermit five or six millions to overthrow and destroy institutions which are the common property, and have been the common blessings and glory of all. The great thoroughfares of the North, the East, and the West, are luminous with the banners and glistening with the bayonets of citizen soldiers marching to the capital, or to other points of rendezvous; but they come in no hostile spirit to the South. If called to prese her soil, they will not ruffle a flower of her gardens, nor a blade of grass of her fields in unkindness. No excesses will mark the footsteps of the armies of the Republic; no institution of the States will be invaded or tampered with, no rights of persons or of property will be violated. The known steps of the armies of the Republic; no institution of the States will be invaded or tampered with, no rights of persons or of property will be violated. The known purposes of the Administration, and the high character of the troops employed, alike

purposes of the Administration, and the high character of the troops employed, alike guarance the truthfulness of this statement. When an insurrection was apprehended a few weeks since in Maryland, the Massachusetts men at once offered their services to suppress it. These volunteers have been denounced by the South as "knaves and vagrants," "the dregs and offseourings of the populace," who would "rather file a handkerchief than fight an enemy in manly combat," yet we know here that their discipline and bearing are most admirable, and, I presume, it may be safely affirmed that a larger amount of social position, culture, and elevation in character, has never been found in so large ed that a larger amount of sectar parameters are elevation in character, has never been found in so large an army in any age or country. If they go to the South, it will be as friends and protectors, to relieve the Union sentiment of the seconded States from the cruel domination by which it is oppossed and silenced, unfurl the stars and stripes in the midst of those who leave to look muon them, and to restore the flag that unfurl the stars and stripes in the indist of those who long to look upon them, and to restore the flag that bears them to the forts and arsenals from which disloyal hands have torn it. Their mission will be one of pence, unless wicked and blood-thirsty men shall unfact, the second of the control of the c

leyal hands have torn it. Their measurements are pence, unless wicked and blood-thirsty men shall unsheath the sword across their pathway.

It is in vain for the Revolutionists to exclaim that this is "subjugation." It is so, precisely in the sense in which you and I and all law-abiding citizens are subjugated. The people of the South are our brethren, and while we obey the laws enacted by our joint authority, and keep a compact to which we are all parties, we only ask that they shall be required to do the same. We believe that their safety demands this; we know that ours does. We impose no burden which we ourselves do not bear; we claim no privilege or blessing which our brethren of the South shall not equally share. Their country is our country, and ours is theirs: which our pretures of the country and ours is theirs; share. Their country is our country, and ours is theirs; and that unity both of country and of Government which the providence of God and the compacts of men have created, we could not ourselves, without self-immolation, destroy; nor can we permit it to be de-

Equally wish "to be let alone," and that in establishing the independence of the Seceded States, they do these which remain in the old Confederacy no harm. The Free States, if allowed the opportunity of doing so, will undoubtedly concede every guaranty needed to emplete protection to the institutions of the afford complete protection to the institutions of the South, and furnish assurances of her perfect equality in the Union; but all such guaranties and assurances are now openly spurned, and the only Southern right now insisted on is that of dismembering the Republic. It is perfectly certain that in the attempted exercise of this right neither States nor statesmen will be "let alone." Should a ruffian meet me in the streets, and seek with an ax to bew an arm and a leg from my body, I would not the less resist him because, as a discovered and helpes trunk. I might northern excellent body, I would not the less resist him because, as a dis-honored and helpless trunk, I might perchance survive the mutilation. It is easy to perceive what fatal results to the old Confederacy would follow should the blow now struck at its integrity ultimately triumph. We can well understand what degradation it would bring to it abroad and what weakness at home; what ex-haustion from increasant war and standing armies, and from the erection of fortifications along the thousands of miles of new frontier; what embarrasquartic to conof miles of new frontier; what embarrassments to commerce from having its natural channels incumbered o merce from having its natural channels incumbered or out off; what elements of disintegration and revolution would be introduced from the pernicious example; and, above all, what humiliation would cover the whole American people for having falled in their great mis-sion to demonstrate before the world the capacity of our race for self-government.

While a far more fearful responsibility has fallen upon President Liucoln than upon any of his predeces-sors, it must be admitted that he has met it with prompt-itude and fearlessness. Cleare, in one of his orations

sors, it must be admitted that he has met it with prompt-itude and fearlessness. Cleore, in one of his orations against Catiline, speaking of the credit due himself for having suppressed the conspiracy of that arch-traitor, said, "if the glory of him who founded Rome was great, how much greater should be that of him who had saved it from overthrow after it had grown to be the mistress of the world!" So it may be said of the glory of that statesman or chieftain who shall snatch this republic from the vortex of revolution, now that this republic from the vortex of revolution, now tone it has expanded from ocean to ocean, has become the admiration of the world, and has rendered the fountains of the lives of thirty millions of people fountains of ublic from the vertex of revolution, new that

The vigorous measures adopted for the safety of

the halls of Congress and in the deliberative and popular assemblies, and through the press of the South, that produced the exasperation which has proved so potent a lever in the hands of the conspirators. The cloud was fully charged, and the juggling revolutionists who held the wires and could at will direct its lightnings appeared at Charleston, broke up the Democratic Convention assembled to nominate a candidate for the Presidency, and thus secured the election of Mr. Lincoln. Having thus rendered this certain, they at once set to work to being the popular mind of the South to the point of determining in advance that the election of a Republican President would be per secure for a set to work to being the popular mind of the South to the point of determining in advance that the election of a Republican President would be per secure for a dissolution of the Union. They were but too success-ful, and to this result the inaction and indecision of the Border States deployably contributed. When the elec-tion of Mr. Lincoln was amounced, there was rejoining in the streets of Charleston, and, doubtlers, atother points in the South; for it was believed by the conspirps intain the South; for it was believed by the conspir-ators that this had brought a ride in the current of their numehinations which would bear them on to victory. The drawn of Secession was now open, and State after State rapidly rashed out of the Union, and their mem-bers withdrew from Congress. The revolution was pressed on with this hot haste in order that no time should be allowed for reaction in the Northern mind, or for any adjustment of the Slavery issues by the action of Congression of the State Legislatures. Had the South-ern members continued in their sents, a ratisfactory compromise would, no doubt, have been arranged and compromise would, no doubt, have been arranged and passed before the adjournment of Congress. As it was, after their retirement, and after Congress had become Republican, an amendment to the Constitution was adopted by a two-thirds yote, declaring that Congress adopted by a two-thirds yot, declaring that Congress and the control of th should never interfere with Slavery in the States, and declaring, further, that this amendment should be irreveable. Thus was falshied the clamor so long irrevocable. Thus was falanted the clamor so long and so insidiously rung in the cars of the Southern people, that the abolition of Slavery in the States was the ultimate aim of the Republican party. But even this amendment, and all others which may be needed to furnish the guaranties demanded, are now defeated by the secession of eleven States, which claming to be out of the Union, will refuse to vote upon, and in effect will vote against any proposite to modify the Federal Constitution. There are now thirty-four States in the Confederacy, three-to-rules of which, being tweaty-six, must concur in the adoption of any amendment. Consideracy, three-forms of water, being twenty-six, must concur in the adoption of any amendment before it can become a part of the Constitution; but the Secession of cieven States leaves but twenty-three whose vote can possibly be secured, which is less than the constitutional number.

Thus we have the extraordinary and discreditable precisely of a revolution made, by certain States are

the constitutional number.

Thus we have the extraordinary and discreditable speciacle of a revolution made by certain States professedly on the ground that guaranties for the safety of their institutions are dealed them, and it the same time, instead of cooperating with their sister States in obtaining these guaranties, they designedly assume a hostile attitude, and thereby renear it constitutionally impossible to secure them. This profound dissimulation shows that it was not the safety of the South but its severance from the Confederacy which was sought from the beginning. Cotemporary with and in some instances preceeding these acts of Secession, the greatest outrages were committed upon the Government of the United States by the States engaged in them. Its forts, arsemals, arms, barracks, custom-houses, post-offices, moneys, and, indeed, every species of its property within the limits of these States were seized and appropriated, down to the very hospital stores for the sick soldiers. More than half a million of dollars was plandared from the mint at New-Orleans. U. S. vessels were received from the defiled hands of their officers in command, and, as if in the hope of consecrating official treachery as one of the public virtues of the sigh, the surrender of an entire military department by a general, to the keeping of whose honor it had been confided, was deemed worthy of the commendation and thanks of the conventions of several States. All these lawless proceedings were well understood to have been prompted and directed by men occupying seats in the Capitot, some of whom were frank enough to declare that they could not and would not, though in a minority, live under a Government which they could not control. In this declaration is found the key which nority, live under a Government which they could not control. In this declaration is found the key which unlocks the whole of the complicated machinery of this revolution. The profligate ambition of public men this revolution. The profigate ambition of public menin all ages and lands has been the rock on which republics have been split. Such men have arisen in our
midst—men who, because unable permanent y to graspthe helm of the ship, are willing to destroy it in the
hope to command some one of the rafts that may float
away from the wreck. The effect is to degrade us to
a level with the military bandits of Mexico and South
America, who, when beaten at an election, fly to arma,
and seek to master by the sword what they have been
unable to control by the ballot-box.

The atrocious acts enumerated were acts of war, and
might all have been treated as such by the late Administration; but the President patriotically cultivated
peace—how anxiously and how patiently the country
well knows. While, however, the revolutionary

peace—now anxiously and now patiently the country well knows. Wrile, however, the revolutionary leaders greeted him with all hails to his face, they did not the less diligently continue to whet their swords behind his back. Immense military preparations were made, so that when the moment for striking at the Government of the United States arrived, the revolu-tionary States leaped into the contest clad in full armor.

armor.

As if nothing should be wanting to darken this page of history, the recorded States have already entered upon the work of confiscating the debts due from their citizens to the North and North-West. The milliona citizens to the North and North-West. The milliona thus gained will doubtless prove a pleasant substitute for those guaranties now so scornfully rejected. To these confiscations will probably succeed soon those of lands and negroes owned by the citizens of loyal States; and, indeed, the apprehension of this step is already sadly disturbing the fidelity of non-resident proprietors. Fortunately, however, infirmity of faith, springing from such a cause, is not likely to be contagious. The war begun is being prosecuted by the Confederate States in a temper as fierce and unsparing; as that which characterizes conflicts between the most hostile nations. Letters of marque and reprisalare being hostile nations. Letters of marque and reprisal are being nostite nations. Letters of margine and represent country granted to all who seek them, so that our coasts will soon awarm with those piratical cruisers, as the President, has properly denounced them. Every bucanier who desires to rob American commerce upon the ocean can, for the asking, obtain a warrant to do so, in the name of the new republic. To crown all, large bodies of Indians have been mustered into the service of the revolutionary States, and are now conspicuous in the ranks of the Southern Army. A leading North Carolins journal, noting their stalwart frames and uncerring marksmanship, observes, with an exultation positively fleudish, that they are armed, not only with the rile, but also with the scalping-knije and tomahasek.

Is Kentucky willing to link her name in history with the excessee and crimes which have sullied the Revolution at overy step of its progress I Can she soil her pure hands with its booty? She poseesses the noblest heritage that God has granted to his children; is she prepared to barter it away for that miserable mess of

pure hands with its booty? She possesses the noblest heritage that God has granted to his children; is she prepared to barter it away for that miserable mess of pottage, which the gratification of the unboly ambition of her public men would bring to her hps? Can she, without laying her face in the dust for very shame, be-come a participant in the spoliation of the commerce of her neighbors and friends, by contributing her star, it is a section of the commerce of the commer

come a participant in the spoliation of the commerce of her neighbors and friends, by contributing her star, hitherto so stainless in its glory, to light the corsair on his way? Has the war-whoop, which used to startle the sleep of our frontlers, so died away in her ears that, she is willing to take the red-handed savage to her bosom as the champion of her rights and the representative of her spirit? Must she not first forget her own heroic sons who peris ed, butchered and scalped, upon the diastrons field of Raisi?

The object of the revolution, as avowed by all who are pressing it forward, is the permanent dismemberment of the Confederacy. The dream of reconstruction—used during the last winter as a lure to draw the headitating or the hopeful into the movement—has been formally abandoned. If Kentucky separates herself from the Union, it must be upon the basis that the separation is to be final and eternal. Is there ought in the organization or administration or the Government of the United States to justify, on her part, an act so solemn and so perilous? Could the wisest of her law-yers, if called upon, find material for an indictment in any or in all the pages of the history of the Republic? Could the mest leprous hipped of its calumnistors point to a single State or Territory, or community or citizen, that it has wronged or oppressed? It would be impossible. So far as the Slave States are concerned, their protection has been complete, and if it has not been, it has been the fault of their statesmen, who have had the control of the Government since its foundation.

The census returns show that during the year 1860 the Fugitive Slave Law was executed more faithfully and successfully than it had been during the preceding

The census returns show that during the year 1800 the Fugitive Slave Law was executed more faithfully and successfully than it had been during the preceding ten years. Since the installation of President Lincoln, not a case has arisen in which the fugitive has not been returned, and that, too, without any opposition from the people. Indeed, the fidelity with which it was understood to be the policy of the present Administration to enforce the provisions of this law has caused a perfect panic among the ranaway shaves in the Free States, and they have been escaping in multitudes to Canada, unpursued and unreclaimed by their masters. Is there found in this reason for a dissolution of the Union?

That the Slave States are not recognized as equals in the Confederacy, has for several years been the cry of demagogues and conspirators. But what is the truth? Not only according to the theory, but the actual pracetice of the Government, the Slave States have ever been, and still are, in all respects, the peers of the Free Of the fourteen Presidents who have been elected, seven were citizens of Slave States; and of the seven remaining, three represented Southern principles, and received the votes of the Southern people; so that, in our whole history, but four Presidents have been chosen who can be claimed as the special champions of the policy and principles of the Fire States, and even these so only in a modified seuse. Does this look as if the South had ever been deprived of her equal share of the honors and powers of the Government? The Supreme Court has powers of the Government? The Supreme Court has powers of the Citizens of the Slave States can, and decided that the citizens of the Slave States can, Union? That the Slave States are not recognized as equals in

much believe outer make value duck seem